BATTLE OF CULTURES: TRANSLATING FIGURATIVE INSULTS IN REMY SYLADO'S CA-BAU-KAN

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ABSTRACT

Translating figurative insults is one of the challenging features of literary translation because these expressions are often culture-bound and produce specific effect. This study seeks to propose a translation produced using predominantly foreignizing approach in an attempt to preserve the original effects, connotations, and nuances of the source text and to examine the extent to which foreignization and domestication can work together when used to deal with certain text types. The source text is taken from Remy Sylado's novel *Ca-Bau-Kan: Hanya Sebuah Dosa*, particularly figurative verbal insults between several characters because of their offensive and hilarious double-effect unique to the Betawi culture of Indonesia. Analysis found 9 non-substitutions, 14 partial substitutions, and 7 total substitutions of figurative images, which reflects the translator's foreignizing tendency. However, there are also some domesticating strategies in order to avoid gross awkwardness and/or loss of effect due to target language constraints and the connotative neutrality of perfect literal equivalents. This study demonstrates that the foreignization approach can be applied with little domestication when the source text shows high originality and the target language has the right linguistic devices to accommodate it.

KEYWORDS: Culture, Trnaslating, Remy Sylado, Ca-Bau-Kan

INTRODUCTION

Literary translation is one of the most challenging tasks for a translator because of the nature of literary texts(Landers, 2001; Newmark 1988). Literature is known for its emphasis on linguistic beauty and esthetic nature, which is created through various literary devices, such as utterances, figures of speech, metaphors, allusions, setting, and characterization (Budianta *et al*., 2006). These devices are used by the author to evoke imagery, create certain effects, and convey certain emotions or connotations (Arp & Johnson, 2018). These emotions can be positive, such as happiness or satisfaction, or negative, such as sadness or anger (Katan, 1999). One of the ways to convey strong negative emotions, particularly anger, is by using offensive words, profanity, and various expressions (Hasibuan & Musfiroh, 2021). Such devices can be difficult to translate because they are often culturally-charged and involve fixed expressions which only meaningful in the source language (SL), but not necessarily in the target language (TL) (Rohmawati, 2021). Therefore, such strings of text cannot generally be translated literally without causing awkwardness.

This research seeks to offer an English translation of figurative expressions which are used to convey anger and animosity (hereinafter referred to as during a fight between several characters in a literary work based on a theoretical framework on literary translation. Data for this research were taken from the first chapter of *Ca-Bau-Kan: Hanya Sebuah Dosa*, an Indonesian novel by Remy Sylado (1999). In must be noted that this novel has never been translated into English, so the translation was not influenced by any external sources. This research focused on figurative insults because they contain interesting Betawi (native Jakartans) cultural elements and create emotional effect unique to Betawi speech. The translation is produced to show that opposing poles of translation ideology can actually work together to a certain degree to produce effect relatively similar to the original text, which is arguably one of the main goals of literary translation. This small-scale experimental translation project seeks to see how foreignization and domestication can be combined to create a unique effect and to what extent both approaches can be applied productively in a special case of literary translation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Many scholars propose that translating literature, especially expressions and utterances, must be done using the domestication ideology (Landers, 2001; Newmark, 1988; Nida & Taber, 1974). Domesticizing means making the source text (ST) sound more familiar and natural in the TL or making the target text (TT) sound as if it had been originally written in the TL (Dewi & Wijaya, 2021). However, there are few scholars who advocate the opposite, that is, the foreignization ideology. Foreignizing means making the ST sound foreign or unfamiliar to the target readers (TR) by preserving features of the source culture (SC) as much as possible, akin to transporting the TR to the SC (Dewi & Wijaya, 2021). They believe that too much domestication is an act of betrayal of the author's voice: it denies the TR the original flavor of the text and the worldview of the SC (Venuti, 1995). These two opposing factions are called 'sourcerers' and 'targeters' (Newmark, 1991). These opposing views are hard to reconcile because each has its own merits and drawbacks. Foreignization may preserve the author's original voice (Mattar, 2014) but create an awkward TT. Domestication obviously creates an easy-to-read TT but omit some original expressions or worldview that the TR may want to know (Jaya, 2018).

Translating utterances or dialogues is generally more difficult than translating written texts because of their typically irregular syntax and connotative diction. The generally acceptable method to translate utterances is the communicative method, which means translating them in the way a TL speaker might utter them in their own language to convey the same core message (Newmark, 1988). However, I would like to argue that, this general principle is problematic when applied to culturally-bound expressions and metaphors. It may produce natural and perfectly understandable utterances in TL but deprive the TT of the specific cultural nuances and effects emphasized by the original ST, especially if the culture in question is not the mainstream among TL users. For instance, Betawi is just one of many ethnic groups which speak a distinct Indonesian dialect. A compromise is required to produce a TT which both conveys this specific cultural baggage but is not grossly unnatural in TL.

One of the most important tasks of a literary translator is to preserve the ST effect (nuance, connotation, feeling, emotion, etc.) as much as possible (Israël, 1996; Landers, 2001). It means that if the ST is intended to be full with anger, to be funny, or to be both, the TT must also be so. This also means that, if need be, the translator can (or, indeed, must) modify the original wording or structure in such a way that the effect can eventually be transferred to the TT (Nida & Taber, 1974). This is based on the assumption that global meaning must triumph over formal meaning. Global meaning is the message, interpretation, and effect of the ST, whereas formal meaning is the semantic or surface meaning of the ST (Israël, 1996). For example, the expression *holy cow* in English and its literal equivalent *sapi suci* in Indonesian have the same formal meaning but different global meaning: in English, it is an exclamation of surprise, but in Indonesian, it is not. In order to preserve the global meaning, the formal meaning must be sacrificed and another word must be used, such as *gokil* ('crazy'), *dahsyat* ('impressive'), or *luar biasa* ('extraordinary').

Insults often contain figures of speech, especially metaphors which often equate someone with another thing (Knowles & Moon, 2006) which is considered unpleasant in a particular language, such as excrement, sexual organs, or animals (Goddard, 2015). Besides metaphors, one can also use harsh vocabulary which is intended to insult, offend, threaten, degrade, or belittle the other interlocutor, such as *curse you*. Some of these metaphors may be universal or at least known in both SL and TL (e.g. *bitch :: anjing* and *babi :: swine*), but some may be language-specific (Shi, 2014) (e.g. *bangke* 'corpse' and *sloth* 'kungkang')—both *corpse* (English) and *kungkang* (Indonesian) are not usually used to insult people in their respective languages. Because of this, sometimes it is necessary to modify the wording when the literal equivalent produces a different or even conflicting effect (Larson, 1984). However, sometimes modification is not necessary when the literal or semi-literal equivalent produces the same or a similar effect (Wiles, 2019). When both approaches fail to produce the same result (i.e. the same metaphor is not known in TL or the ST simply does not have any other metaphor with similar effect in TL), a translator may resort to using more general profanity (*bastard, bitch*, etc.) or omit the problematic metaphor at all (Rohmawati, 2021), the latter option not being preferable because it is considered as an extreme modification of the ST.

METHOD

This research is basically an annotated translation (Williams & Chesterman, 2002), followed with an analysis and self-reflection on the resulting TT. The first step is data collection. Data were obtained from Chapter 1 of Remy Sylado's *Ca-Bau-Kan: Hanya Sebuah Dosa*, starting from the scene where Uking starts to have an argument with Mpok Enjun until when Mpok Jene and Mpok Enjun start to fight. This section is chosen because it is dotted with culturally-charged figurative insults. The second step is translation. I then translated the whole section into English by applying the theoretical framework which I have chosen and formulated. The third step is coding. I assigned codes to all translation units which become the focus of this research, i.e. figurative insults, thus turning them into units of analysis (UA). A total of thirty UAs were found. It must be noted that one utterance may contain more than one UA because it may contain more than one figurative expression.

The fourth step is annotation. Each UA was then annotated, i.e. commented in terms of translation ideology and strategy, in order to defend the approach I had used to produce the TT. The results were then presented on a double-column table with each ST and its corresponding TT put side by side in the same row (Williams & Chesterman, 2002) and the literal translation of each UA put under each ST paragraph. The fifth step is analysis. The results were then reflected on and analyzed in terms of translation ideology and strategy. After that, several main conclusions were drawn from the analysis, and several recommendations were offered.

RESULTS AND ANNOTATIONS

The novel is about the life of Tinung, a Betawi woman who becomes the lifelong mistress of a Chinese businessman in Batavia (Jakarta) during the Dutch colonial era. Chapter 1 narrates about Tinung who becomes the fifth wife of a relatively wealthy sailor named Obar, but he died at sea shortly after their marriage. Now, Obar's mother (Mpok Enjun) thinks that Tinung has brought a curse upon her son and chases her out of Obar's house. Tinung's parents (Uking and Mpok Jene) do not accept this treatment and quarrel with Mpok Enjun (Sylado, 1999). The ST and my proposed TT are presented in the table below. The yellow boxes present the most approximate literal equivalents of all UAs. The TTs of other parts of the story are also presented so that readers can understand the flow of the narrative.

Table 1.
ST, TT, and Literal Translation of Figurative Insults

Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)
"Kagak bisa gitu dong, Besan," kata dia. "[1] Pakek otak lu, [2] jangan melulu pakek udel." "[1] Use your brain, [2] don't always use (your) navel."	"I can't let you treat her like that, Enjun," he spouted. "[1] Use your brain, [2] don't use your belly."
Tidak enak dikatai begitu, Mpok Enjun, yang tak pernah mau mengalah untuk semua hal, langsung mendelik dan meludah segampangnya. "Tau ape lu? Ngomong asal bunyi."	Hurt by this sudden verbal attack, Mpok Enjun, who was never willing to back down on anything, threw a poisonous glare and spat randomly. "Huh, you know nothing! You speak like an idiot."
"Iye, nyang bener dong. Masak main ngusir gitu aje. [3] Emang kawinnye kayak ayam ape? Semua ade aturannye." "Yeah, just be right. Is it right to just chase (her) out. [3] Is a marriage like chicken? Everything has its rules."	"So you really think that's right? Throwing out my daughter like that. [3] You think they're married like chicken? Everything has rules."
"Itu aturan kagak sah lagi sesudah Obar mati gare-gare anak lu."	"There ain't no rules after Obar died b'coz of your daughter."
"Ape? Gare-gare si Tinung?"	"What? B'coz of my daughter?"
"Emang. Gare-gare anak lu entu, anak gue mati."	"Yes. B'coz of your daughter my son is dead."

Uking tak kuasa menahan diri. "Cuh!" Dia meludah tanpa keluar ludah. "[4] Anak lu mati sebab <u>kualat</u>, tau nggak?!" … "Pah!" … "[4] Your son's dead because he's <u>cursed</u>, (you) know that?!" …	Uking could not restrain himself anymore. "Pah!" He spat without actually spitting. "[4] Your son croaked 'coz he's <u>cursed</u>, you know that?!"
Mpok Enjun tak kalah kampungan. Dia juga, "Cuh!" Percik ludahnya mengena Uking. "[5] <u>Makdirodok</u> lu. Sekarang kite liat, [6] sape nyang <u>kualat</u>." Dia ambil palang pintu di dekatnya, lalu diayunkannya ke arah Uking. Kena lengan. Tapi hanya mengikis. "[5] You <u>bastard</u>. Now let's see, [6] who's <u>cursed</u>." …	Mpok Enjun was just as vulgar. She also, "Pah!" This time, her saliva landed right on Uking's face. "[5] You <u>son of a bitch</u>! Now let's see [6] who's <u>cursed</u>." She snatched a crossbar nearby and swung it at Uking. It hit his hand—only a scratch.
"[7] <u>Setan alas</u>!" Uking menghindar. "[8] <u>Perempuan ular</u>!" "[7] <u>Jungle devil</u>!" … "[8] <u>Snake woman</u>!"	"[7] You <u>devil</u>!" Uking avoided the blow. "[8] You <u>she-snake</u>!"
"[9] Lu nyang <u>setan</u>. [10] Lu nyang <u>ular</u>!" Palang pintu itu terus diayunkannya. "[9] You're the <u>devil</u>. [10] You're the <u>snake</u>!" …	"[9] You're the <u>devil</u>! [10] You're the <u>snake</u>!" She kept swinging the crossbar around.
Uking mengangkat kursi. Menahan. Lalu melempar kursi itu ke diri Mpok Enjun. "[11] <u>Nyaho</u> lu! [12] <u>Perempuan sue</u>, [13] <u>kagak bebangse</u>." … "[11] You <u>dead</u>! [12] <u>Damned woman</u>, [13] <u>not civilized</u>."	Uking lifted a chair, gather his power, and threw it at Mpok Enjun. "[11] Take that, <u>bastard</u>! [12] You <u>damn</u>, [13] <u>impudent</u> woman!"
"[14] Lu nyang <u>kagak bebangse</u>. [15] <u>Turunan gergajul</u>. [16] <u>Kelas comberan</u>. [17] <u>Cecunguknye jambang tue</u>. [18] <u>Caplaknye anjing budukan</u>." Dengan tenaga habis-habisan diayunkannya palang pintu itu ke Uking. Uking menunduk. Palang pintu mengena lampu gantung. Semprongnya pecah berkeping. Akhirnya Mpok Enjun berteriak sehabisnya, "[19] Keluar lu, <u>binataaang</u>!" "[14] You're (the one) who's <u>not civilized</u>. [15] <u>Descendant of a scoundrel</u>. [16] <u>Sewer class</u>. [17] <u>Cockroach of an old whisker</u>. [18] <u>Warts of a bumped dog</u>." … "[19] Out, you <u>aaaanimaaal</u>!"	"[14] You're the <u>impudent</u>! [15] <u>Son of a swine</u>. [16] <u>Sewer rat</u>. [17] <u>Maggoty old scumbag</u>. [18] <u>Warty dog-ass</u>!" With all of her might, she swung the crossbar at Uking. Uking ducked quickly. The crossbar hit a hanging lamp. Its chimney was shattered to pieces. At last, Mpok Enjun screamed her loudest, "[19] Oooouuuut, you <u>monster</u>!"
Uking kehilangan hikmah juga. Mana lagi makin banyak orang kampung, tetangga, laki-perempuan, berdatangan ke situ, menyaksikan tanpa terketuk hati untuk melerai. Akhirnya Uking meloncat keluar, menarik lengan Tinung yang sejak tadi berdiri di luar. "Ayo, Nung. Lu kagak bakal jato	Uking completely lost his temper now. Meanwhile, more and more people, villagers, neighbors, men and women, were coming, watching the scene without the slightest desire to mediate. Uking jumped out of the door, reached Tinung's

miskin, [20] cuma lantaran keluar dari rumah iblis ini." "Come on, Nung. You won't fall into poverty just [20] because (you) leave this devil's house."	arms. She was just standing outside all the while. "Come on, Nung. You won't be a beggar [20] just b'coz you leave this evil house."
Dengan susah-payah Uking menuntun Tinung, pulang ke rumahnya sendiri. Berkali-kali Tinung terseok dan jatuh. Khawatir juga perasaan Uking. Jangan-jangan putrinya akan keguguran. Dibopongnya Tinung. Dan, melihat itu, sesampai di rumah, Mpok Jene, Ibu Tinung gusar.	With great difficulty Uking took Tinung away to her own house. Tinung walked heavily and often fell on the street. Uking was worried that she might lose her baby. He then carried Tinung by his hands. Upon their arrival, Mpok Jene, Tinung's mother, was furious.
"Kenapa nih?" katanya sengit. "[21] Lu kale ame tu jande jelek tue? Malu-maluin gue, lu!" "Why, heh?" … "[21] You lost against that ugly old widow? You make me ashamed!"	"What's happened, heh?" she snapped. "[21] You lost against that ugly old hag? Shame on you!"
Mpok Jene membuang sapu yang sedang dipegangnya, lalu bergopoh sambil menjingkit jarit berlari ke rumah sengketa. Mpok Enjun masih di sana, dirubungi orang kampung yang menonton mulutnya menyerocos.	Mpok Jene threw the broomstick on her hands. Lifting her skirt, she thundered towards the hateful house. Mpok Enjun was still there, surrounded by villagers who were watching her spitting out her bitter diatribe.
Mpok Jene menembusi mereka. Dijambaknya langsung rambut Mpok Enjun. Perempuan ini terkejut sekaligus kehilangan keseimbangan badan. Dia terjatuh. Sudah jatuh, masih ditendang juga oleh Mpok Jene. Mulutnya kena.	Mpok Jene forced her way through them. She promptly pulled Mpok Enjun's hair. This woman was surprised and lost her balance. She fell to the ground, but Mpok Jene kicked her face right on the mouth.
"Rasain lu," kata Mpok Jene. "Lu bole seenaknye ame Tinung atawe laki gue, tapi [22] jangan lu jajal ke gue. Sekarang, nih, giliran gue mence-mence. [23] Ayo, berdiri lu, kesemek basi. [24] Muke merengked kayak pager jero, [25] kagak perne ngaca. [26] Ude bangkotan kayak embek kranji, [27] kagak tau diri. Cuh!" "You taste (that)!" … "You can do what you like to Tinung or my hubby, but [22] never try it on me. Now's my time to spout words. [23] Come on, stand up, you rotten persimmon. [24] Face wrinkled like an inner fence, [25] never (see yourself on) the mirror. [26]] Already a dotard like a *kranji* goat, [27] don't know yourself. Pah!"	"Eat that," said Mpok Jene. "You can mess with Tinung or my husband, but [22] don't you ever dare try me. [23] Now, my turn. Stand up, you rotten turnip. [24] Just look at those bloody wrinkles!—[25] have you ever looked into the mirror? [26] And so foul like an old goat. [27] And you dare call yourself a woman! Pah!"
"[28] Kurangajar lu!" Mpok Enjun berdiri. "[29] Gue sumpe lu jadi sampi gatel, tau rase lu. [30] Dasar cecunguk." Diterjangnya Mpok Jene.	"[28] Impudent bitch!" Mpok Enjun stood up. "[29] Curse you! Be a bloated cow,

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"[28] You impudent!" … "[29] I curse you to be an itchy cow, you taste (that). [30] (You) rascal."	[30] you filthy cunt!" she attacked Mpok Jene.
Dan terjadilah perkelahian saling menarik rambut, berguling-guling di lantai, berdiri, lalu jatuh sama-sama, seru. Orang-orang kampung makin ramai menonton—melebihi ramai tontonan lenong atau samrah, dan tak sedikitpun merasa terpanggil untuk melerai.	And so it turned into a catfight: both women fiercely pulled each other's hair, rolling on the ground, stood up, and fell again—quite a remarkable commotion. Villagers kept coming and coming—it was even more exciting than a *lenong* or *samrah* performance. None of them felt moved to break up the fight.

Uking's first utterance contains two metaphors: brain and navel. *Otak* is universally known as the organ responsible for critical thinking, so *brain* can confidently be preserved. The word *udel* is a hilarious Betawi word which is often used to tease or insult people who are stupid, as in *otaknya ditaruh di udel* ('his brain is put in his navel'). I changed *udel* into *belly* because I did not think that *navel* is hilarious or offensive enough to indicate someone's lack of intelligence. The word belly is more culturally funny, as in the expression *belly button*. Next, I preserved the *chicken* metaphor because I think that both ST and TT can convey the same global meaning, i.e. the fact that animal mating has no "rules", unlike human marriage. The comparison is equally hilarious in both SL and TL, although the chicken metaphor is quite original in TL when used in this context. [4] and [6] contains the predicate *kualat* ('cursed') and it is preserved because it is understood in a similar way both in SL and TL, although they are not perfect equivalents. *Kualat* implies that the person has done something so sinful that he is cursed by the deity, so one might argue that the TT loses a bit of ST's original force. *Makdirodok* is a common Betawi insult, so it was translated with equally common insult directed to a man, i.e. *son of a bitch*. The next two metaphors to insult Enjun are quite culturally charged, but the former was translated into *devil* (although the ST is arguably stronger because it added the word *alas* 'jungle'), while the latter was translated semi-literally into *she-snake*. The fully literal equivalent would be *snake woman*, but I decided to use a common English way of describing the female version of an unpleasant entity, such as *she-devil*, *she-wolf*, etc. Arguably, this sounds unusual, but still conveys unmistakably negative connotation, thus creating a rather hilarious effect. [9] and [10] just followed the same metaphor, but with an omission of *she-* because the interlocutor is now a man.

The expression *nyaho lu* means that the utterer is happy when something bad happens to the other interlocutor. It is figurative because it does not mean that the other person is literally dead. This was translated with a common expression English speakers use to convey the same message (*take that*), with an additional figurative insult (*bastard*) to heighten the drama. *Sue* literally means 'damned', 'cursed', or 'unlucky' as a literal expression of sympathy or anguish, but can also be used as an insult to describe an unpleasant person. Thus, the word *damn* is used quite literally with the latter sense. *Kagak bebangse* is literally used here to describe someone who is uncivilized or has bad manners—*bebangse* literally means 'having a good ability to live with fellow countrymen' because *bangse* means 'people' or 'nation' in Betawi dialect. Thus, it can be conveniently translated into *impudent* in the sense that she does not know how to respect other people.

This is followed by a series of very negative figurative predicates used to describe Uking. ST [14] was just translated with the same TT as [13] because it is simply Enjun's response to Uking's insult. ST [15] literally means 'descendant of a scoundrel', while *gergajul* is a very cultural word which is not usually used even in informal Indonesian. Thus, I try to preserve the 'descendant' component by modifying already common English insult *son of a bitch* into *son of a swine* because *swine* is equally offensive yet uncommon and somewhat hilarious. ST [16] contains the vulgar word *comberan*, and I wish to preserve this by using sewer. However, the negative connotation of the literal equivalent (*sewer class*) is not strong enough, and its meaning is rather ambiguous, so I decided to use an animal insult associated with sewer, i.e. rat. In [17], *tue* was literally translated as *old*, while *jambang* simply means *whisker*, which is not offensive at all, so I decided to change the latter to a common term to describe a contemptible person, i.e. *scumbag*. *Cecunguk* literally means 'cockroach' and is a very Betawi way of insulting someone. Because I could not put all these words together without impairing the grammar (e.g. *old cockroach scumbag*, having two consecutive incoherent nouns), I decided to choose an adjective related to insect, i.e. *maggoty* to modify *scumbag*. ST [18] contains at least three meaning components, i.e. 'wart', 'bump', and 'dog'. *Warty* and *dog* can be used as insults in TL—*warty* being somewhat humorous, but *bumpy* can be misinterpreted. Thus, I changed *budukan* ('covered with bumps') to another feature of the animal's body which is equally offensive and vulgar-sounding, i.e. *ass*. Lastly, in [19] *animal* in itself sounds more neutral than another general creature usually used as a powerful insult, i.e. *monster*.

Then, Uking describes his in-law's house as belonging to the 'devil', but I thought it would be more natural if I changed it into an adjective, i.e. evil, without sacrificing the negative connotation. The double adjectives in [21] can be translated literally, i.e. *ugly old*, but the noun *widow* has a more neutral or even sad connotation. Thus, I changed it into a term commonly used to insult an old, monstrous, contemptible, and hateful woman, i.e. *hag*. ST [22] contains the word *jajal* ('try on') as if Jene put herself as a piece of clothes to be worn by Enjun. It can simply be translated into *try me*, a common expression used to challenge people to do something to the speaker.

This is then followed by a series of very negative figurative predicates used to describe Enjun. The literal translation of *kesemek basi* ('rotten persimmon') is only half-offensive: *rotten* is clearly offensive, but *persimmon* is not. In Betawi dialect, *kesemek* is already phonologically funny, so I had to find another fruit with the same effect, i.e. *turnip*—I remembered a phrase *Tibetan turnip* from a Harry Potter movie which is intended to be a hilarious random object. ST [24] contains three meaning components: 'face' 'shriveled' and 'inner fence'. *Wrinkles* can be used to insult a woman without mentioning the face again because it is already clear where those wrinkles are supposed to be. *Pager jero* literally means 'inner fence' because *jero* is a Betawi term to describe something located within something else. Perhaps this expression is simply a random offensive metaphor without a specific meaning and could not be translated literally either because it is not coherent with 'wrinkles on the face'. Thus, I changed it into a common offensive and graphic adjective *bloody* to modify *wrinkles*.

ST [25] compares Enjun with someone who never looks at herself on the mirror to see her flaws. The same metaphor also works in English, so it was transferred into TT with a modification from a statement to a question to create a "sneering" effect. *Embek* is a hilarious Betawi word

which means a goat, the common Indonesian word being *kambing*, whereas *kranji* is a region in Bekasi regency, West Java (a region east of Batavia), which was supposedly home to many goats (but we will never know for sure because it is only used figuratively as an incoherent insult). I preserved the *goat* metaphor but was compelled to changed *kranji* into a common negative adjective associated with a goat, i.e. *foul* and *old* because there is no way TL readers can know what or where *kranji* really is. *Kagak tau diri* ('don't know yourself') is a common colloquial insult to people who do not realize their own flaws and think that their behavior is acceptable. The literal equivalent is not known in English, so I had to totally rephrase it into a common expression which challenges someone's pride as an ideal woman.

The last three insults are directed towards Jene. *Kurangajar* (literally 'not educated enough') perfectly translates into *impudent*. However, it lacks an object, so I simply chose a common insult for a woman which has not been used so far, i.e. *bitch*. *Jadi sampi gatel* ('becoming an itchy cow') is apparently a common Betawi hilarious curse which someone can cast upon a hated individual. However, I did not think that *itchy* is intense enough, so I changed it to an adjective which can evoke a more hilarious image, i.e. *bloated*, while *cow* itself is already an animal slur, signifying stupidity or slowness. It is mentioned above that *cecunguk* means 'cockroach', but in order to intensify the drama, I changed it into a very offensive expression to a woman, i.e. *filthy cunt*. This climax is important to emphasize the vulgarity of the two women and to serve as an ideal prelude to the catfight immediately after the verbal exchanges.

ANALYSIS

Based on the above proposed translation of figurative insults, I would like to categorize them into three main groups: (1) relatively unsubstituted, (2) partially substituted, and (3) entirely substituted. "Partially substituted" here means that either only parts of the expression is substituted or the whole expression is substituted by another which is semantically related but not perfect equivalent. The table below presents the grouping and some commentary.

Table 2.
Categorization of Translation Units Based on Degree of Substitution

No.	Relatively unsubstituted	Commentary
1	[1] *otak :: brain*	Literal equivalent.
2	[3] *ayam :: chicken*	Literal equivalent.
3	[4] *kualat :: cursed*	Some meaning components were lost.
4	[5] *kualat :: cursed*	
5	[8] *perempuan ular :: she-snake*	The style was made more natural.
6	[9] *setan:: devil*	Literal equivalent.
7	[10] *ular :: snake*	Literal equivalent.
8	[12] *perempuan sue :: damn woman*	Literal equivalent.
9	[25] *kagak perne ngaca :: have you ever looked into the mirror?*	The mirror metaphor was preserved, but the expression is rephrased from a statement to a question.

No.	Partially substituted	Commentary
1	[7] *setan alas :: devil*	*Alas* was omitted.
2	[13] *kagak bebangse :: impudent*	The basic meaning component was preserved, i.e. 'not able to respect others'
3	[14] *kagak bebangse :: impudent*	
4	[15] *turunan gergajul :: son of a swine*	A person (*gergajul*) was changed to an animal (*swine*).
5	[16] *kelas comberan :: sewer rat*	An abstract concept was changed to an animal.
6	[17] *cecunguknya jambang tue :: maggoty old scumbag*	A noun (*cecunguknya*) was changed to an adjective (*maggoty*).
7	[18] *caplaknye anjing budukan :: warty dog-ass*	A body part (*caplak*) was changed to another body part (*ass*).
8	[20] *devil's :: evil*	The noun was changed into an adjective.
9	[21] *jande jelek tue :: ugly old hag*	A person (*jande*) was changed to a ghost (*hag*).
10	[22] *jajal ke gue :: try me*	The clothes metaphor was changed into fully human.
11	[23] *kesemek basi :: rotten turnip*	The fruit was changed.
12	[26] *embek kranji :: old goat*	A region was changed into an adjective. The cultural content and effect was somewhat reduced.
13	[27] *kurangajar lu! :: impudent bitch!*	*Bitch* was added. The effect was intensified.
14	[29] *sampi gatel :: bloated cow*	The adjective was changed.
No.	Entirely substituted	Commentary
1	[2] *udel :: belly*	The body part was changed.
2	[5] *makdirodok :: son of a bitch*	The expression was totally adapted.
3	[11] *nyaho :: bastard*	The verb was changed to a noun.
4	[19] *binatang :: monster*	The creature was changed.
5	[24] *pager jero :: bloody wrinkles*	The expression was totally adapted based on context.
6	[27] *kagak tau diri :: and you dare call yourself a woman!*	The expression was totally adapted based on context.
7	[30] *cecunguk :: filthy cunt!*	The animal was changed to a body part plus an adjective.

The above data shows that 9 UAs did not undergo figurative substitution, 14 UAs underwent partial figurative substitution, and 7 UAs underwent total figurative substitution. This proves that a large number of figurative insults in this particular narrative can be translated quite faithfully, despite the assumed cultural and connotative differences. In terms of translation ideology, it can also be confidently said that my proposed translation tends to be foreignizing in nature because I tried my best to be as faithful as possible to the source diction without sacrificing the intended effect. This is because I was trying to respect and preserve the author's choice of figurative expressions, as well as introducing the TRs to one aspect of the Betawi culture, i.e. their unique figurative insults.

The same approach was also used by Jaya (2013) in his translation of an excerpt from Philippa Gregory's *The other Boleyn Girl*.

There is, however some healthy dose of domesticizing, as well, which was done to achieve several main purposes. The first one is to avoid highly unnatural collocation in English when used as an insult, such as [7] *jungle devil*, while *devil* already serves its offensive purpose. The second one is to compensate for words which do not have ready equivalents in the same grammatical category. English simply does not have a short, concise word for [13 & 14] *bebangse* ('being able to behave civilly'), so the entire expression had to be changed. The third one is to increase the intensity of an insult by using words or patterns more familiar to the TRs, such as [8] *she-snake* rather than *snake woman*, [15] *son of a swine* rather than *son of a cockcroach*, and [27] *impudent bitch* rather than *you impudent!* The fourth one is to substitute a Betawi insult which does not have any particular literal meaning and cannot be used in non-offensive contexts, i.e. [5] *makdirodok*, which exists solely as an insult. The fifth one is to avoid awkward structure which, if used, will sound ridiculous and superficial in TL, such as [17] *cecunguknya jambang tue :: the cockroach of an old scumbag/an old scumbag's cockroach* and [18] *caplaknye anjing budukan :: the bumps of a warty dog/a warty dog's bumps*. In these cases, the possessive markers simply do not work and must be rephrased.

It has been frequently mentioned that the Betawi culture has a unique way to express negative emotions. They typically do this by employing expressions which have at least three characteristics: offensive, figurative/metaphorical, and rather hilarious (Ilhamsyah, 2021). The metaphors are often creatively unusual or quirky, even for the Betawis themselves, and this quirkiness is the very cause of their hilariousness. Some examples from the narrative are *cecunguknya jambang tue, caplaknye anjing budukan, embek kranji* and *sampi gatel*. I suspect that these are the author's original metaphors because I could not find any other reference to these on Google. No one expects that Jene would associate between a goat and a specific region or that Enjun would associate between a cow and itchiness.[1] This is probably why people are more inclined to laugh when listening to others having a Betawi-style verbal fight than feeling sympathetic or concerned, thus establishing a logical basis behind why the other villagers in the story are actually enjoying the fight like watching a theatre performance.[2] Because of this very reason, I would strongly argue that foreignization—in the sense of trying to preserve the author's creative word choices—is the best ideology for translating these culture-laden expressions. This is in line with Newmark's suggestion that original expressions should be translated faithfully (1988).

It must be noted that the Betawi dialect and Indonesian are almost mutually intelligible, but it also has a special set of unique vocabulary which cannot be found in standard Indonesian (Litalia, n.d.). Betawi words are often considered as a less formal or less polite form of Indonesian and are often associated with provinciality or vulgarity (Rohman, n.d.). When translating Betawi

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[1] There are, however, a few common insults in the data, such as *makdirodok, sue, setan alas,* or *cecunguk* (*40 kosakata bahasa Betawi beserta artinya*, 2017).

[2] Another reason for this combination of offensiveness and hilariousness may also come from phonology: some words seem to be intrinsically offensive and/or funny when pronounced in a certain tone, at least in Betawi dialect, such as *kualat, sue', nyaho', jero', cecunguk, caplak, kesemek, embek, makdirodok, gatel,* and *udel*. Already we can see some pattern here: words that end with /k/, /ʔ/ (glottal stop), and /əl/ seem to provoke anger in the targets but laughter in the other listeners. It must be noted that it is just my speculation, which requires further research.

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utterances, a translator needs to be careful because the equivalents must ideally reflect this perceived status and connotations. In fact, all of the interlocutors in the above narrative are uneducated villagers. In light of all this, I have to make sure that the TTs are vulgar, simple, straightforward, and naturally do not involve any sophisticated words or complex syntax. Even though I was determined to be faithful to the author's original expressions, I could not use English equivalents which, however faithful, did not do justice to the global meaning of the ST because they tend to neutralize the offensive-hilarious double effect. To illustrate this dilemma, below is a table which presents the comparison between Betawi words, its Indonesian counterparts, its literal English translation, and the words that I chose as the equivalent. Words whose English literal equivalents do not cause any dilemma are not included.

Table 3.
Comparison between Betawi ST Words, Its Indonesian Equivalents, Its English Equivalent, and the Final TT

Betawi	Indonesian	Literal English	Offensive English
udel	pusar	navel	belly
kualat	terkutuk	cursed	cursed
makdirodok	-	-	son of a bitch
setan alas	setan hutan	jungle devil	devil
perempuan ular	perempuan ular	snake woman	she-snake
nyaho	mati	die / dead	bastard
perempuan sue	perempuan sial	unlucky woman	damn woman
kagak bebangse	kurang ajar	uncivilized	impudent
turunan gergajul	keturunan bajingan	scoundrel's descendant	son of a swine
kelas comberan	kelas selokan	sewer class	sewer rat
cecunguknye jambang tue	kecoaknya cambang tua	old whisker's cockroach	maggoty old scumbag
caplaknye anjing budukan	kutilnya anjing berbuduk	warty dog's bumps	warty dog-ass
binatang	binatang	animal	monster
iblis	iblis	devil's	evil
jande jelek tue	janda tua jelek	ugly old widow	ugly old hag
jajal	coba	try … on	try
kesemek basi	kesemek basi	rotten persimmon	rotten turnip
muke merengked kayak pager jero	muka berkerut seperti pagar dalam	face wrinkled like an inner fence	just look at those bloody wrinkles!
embek kranji	kambing Kranji	Kranji goat	old goat
sampi gatel	sapi gatal	itchy cow	bloated cow
cecunguk	kecoak	cockroach	filthy cunt

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As can be seen in the table above, there are quite a lot of English literal equivalents which do not carry the same effect as the STs, such as *turunan :: descendant, kelas :: class, jande :: widow, kesemek :: persimmon, udel :: navel, nyaho :: dead,* and *pager jero :: inner fence.* They are arguably more connotatively neutral than my chosen equivalents. In fact, many of the Indonesian counterparts also do not carry the same effect as the Betawi words, such as *udel :: pusar* and *merengked :: berkerut* which are not hilarious at all. However, most of the Indonesian counterparts may carry similar effects and can be used as insults, but they are somewhat less intense in various ways than the Betawi counterparts. For instance, *nyaho* is more vulgar than *mati*, *kualat* is more terrifying than *terkutuk*, *cecunguk* is more offensive than *kecoak*, and *embek* is funnier than *kambing*, while *pusar, selokan, kutil*, and *berkerut* are all more neutral than their Indonesian counterparts. These are good examples of what Baker termed "culture-specific concepts" (2011).

In short, my foreignizing approach was not applied indiscriminately or uncritically but with careful consideration in terms of vulgarity, originality, hilariousness, and offensiveness. This is in line with Lander's suggestion that a translator must be able to "create in the TL reader the same emotional and psychological effect experienced by the original SL reader" (2001). Several alternative equivalents may have a similar formal meaning, but they may evoke different global meanings, and this influenced the selection process. For instance, *descendant* and *son* may refer to the same entity and share many meaning components, especially 'offspring', but the latter is chosen because of its effect as a result of an already-established pattern, while the former is not chosen because it sounds somewhat technical and not offensive at all, let alone hilarious. Meanwhile, *uncivilized* had to be changed because it is too sophisticated to be uttered by an angry uneducated old woman.

CONCLUSION

ST analysis shows that it contains as many as thirty Betawi-style figurative insults, most (if not all) of which carry a combined effect of being offensive, hilarious, quirky, and creative simultaneously. This aptly demonstrates Betawi people's unique way of throwing insults at each other. This is in line with Taufik (2012, July 2) who questions people's perception of Betawi people as quarrelsome, but they are actually "they love humor since their infancy". Moreover, a large number of the insults prove to be the author's original figurative expressions in keeping with the Betawi culture, even though there are also several common insults.

This experimental research has yielded a translation of an excerpt from a novel, with a special emphasis on figurative insults. Based on a preset theoretical framework, I purposefully translated those figurative insults using the foreignization ideology in keeping with my original to preserve the global meaning (Bassnett, 2002). This means that I tried my best to preserve the author's word and expression choices as far as I could to create the effect of originality and creativity in the resulting TT. However, I also had to make several domesticizing concessions by modifying parts or even the entire insult due to linguistic constraints, serious awkwardness, or unintended connotations (mostly the neutral one) in order to preserve the global meaning, in this case, an offensive and hilarious double effect unique to the Betawi culture.

Further analysis shows that there are 9 insults which were relatively unsubstituted, 14 which were partially substituted, and 7 which were entirely substituted. This proves the dominance

of foreignization in my translation, especially in the form of literal translation and near-synonyms (they refer to the same entity but have different connotations, etc.). I would admit that some of the TTs may sound unusual and quirky in TL, but this is because it is exactly the way the STs sound in SL, as well, so my approach is thereby justified. Needless to say, I do not claim perfection: other translators or translation scholars may use a different approach (such as domestication or amelioration of harsh words) and yield different results to serve a different purpose (Vermeer, 2000) and to appeal to a different audience. Literary translation is and will ever be an interesting arena of contestation between different ideologies, approaches, and perspectives, especially when dealing with culturally-charged translation units (.

Future research may want to offer a different TT of the same ST but with a different approach. In fact, there are still many culture-bound features in the novel which deserve scholarly analysis, such as the translation of other non-offensive Betawi utterances, dialects, cultural items, and cultural worldview. For those who are into cultural studies or critical theories, they may analyze the juxtaposition between Betawi, Straits-born Chinese, and Dutch cultures as presented in the novel, or analyze the feminist aspect of the narrative (Jones, 2009). In short, there are a great number of scholarly topics to be discussed from this novel or other similar literary works, both in translation studies and in other areas of inquiry.

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